

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O P 221620Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8908

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

S E C R E T ANKARA 3184

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAS 2, 5 & 6)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR

SUBJ: MEETING WITH PRIMIN DEMIREL

1. DEMIREL AND CAGLAYANGIL RECEIVED BILL MACOMBER, EAGLETON AND ME AFTERNOON APRIL 22. AFTER HEARING BRIEF SUMMARY FROM ME ON PREVIOUS DAY'S DISCUSSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER, DEMIREL LAUNCHED INTO BLUNT DESCRIPTION OF HOW TURKS SEE US DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP AND HIS INABILITY TO EXPLAIN CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO HIS PEOPLE. HE SAID THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO CONNECT CYPRUS OR GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS TO US RELATIONS AND AID EMBARGO WOULD MEAN NO PROGRESS ON FORMER. HE RECOGNIZED THAT TIME HAD BEEN NEEDED TO REVERSE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION AND HOPED THAT WE APPRECIATED RESTRAINT IN TURKISH REACTION, BUT AT NO TIME DID HE SET ANY DEADLINE ALTHOUGH HE DID RECALL THAT YOU HAD PREDICTED SOME ACTION BY THE END OF APRIL.

2. WE EXPLAINED THE REASONS WHY THE PROCESS WAS TAKING TIME AND BILL MACOMBER GAVE AN OBJECTIVE EXPLANATION OF THE REASONS WHY EVEN SOME FRIENDS IN THE CONGRESS FELT TURKEY HAD GONE TOO FAR ON CYPRUS. WE STRESSED THAT WE WERE SEEKING A REVERSAL OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION INDEPENDENT

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OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION BUT THAT THE SENSE OF SOME PROGRESS

TOWARD A SOLUTION WAS IMPORTANT IN WINNING OVER THE CONGRESS.

3. DEMIREL ALSO DESCRIBED THE QUARREL WITH GREECE IN THE AEGEAN AND SAID THE GREEKS WERE FOOLISH TO VIOLATE TREATIES BY REARMING THE ISLANDS. THESE AGREEMENTS PROTECTED THE GREEK POSITION AND GREECE'S VIOLATION MEANT THAT A TURKISH REACTION WOULD HAVE WORLD OPINION BEHIND IT.

4. DEMIREL WAS LESS FORTHCOMING WITH RESPECT TO DIRECT TALKS WITH THE GREEKS THAN CAGLAYANGIL HAD BEEN. HE SEEMED TO WISH TO AVOID PLACING TURKEY IN THE POSITION OF PURSUING GREECE IN THIS REGARD. HE DID, HOWEVER, ADMIT WHEN PRESSED THAT TURKEY WOULD NOT REFUSE TO TALK, AND HE SOMEWHAT GRUDGINGLY AGREED THAT GREECE'S DESIRE FOR A RAPID SOLUTION SHOULD BE PROBED. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT DEMIREL IS KEEPING HIMSELF ALOOF FROM CAGLAYANGIL'S EFFORTS SO THAT HE CAN DEAL WITH HIS MORE DIFFICULT DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS AND ALLOW CAGLAYANGIL TO HIS OWN "COOKING."

5. IN SUM, DEMIREL'S MESSAGE TO US WAS TWOFOLD: GET THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION REVERSED - IT WILL BE VERY LONG AND DIFFICULT INDEED TO PUT OUR RELATIONS BACK TOGETHER AGAIN IF THEY COME APART --, AND ALLOW THE COMMUNAL TALKS AND THE GREEK-TURKISH TALKS TO DEVELOP NATURALLY WITHOUT PUTTING PRECONDITIONS. HIS GENERAL ATTITUDE WAS IT IS UP TO OTHERS TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE THEY HAVE DONE.

6. THESE CONVERSATIONS DO NOT GIVE US MUCH TO TAKE TO ATHENS. WE WILL CERTAINLY ADVISE THE GREEKS ONCE AGAIN OF THE POISONOUS EFFECT OF THE AID CUTOFF ON THEIR INTERESTS. BUT WE CAN ALSO PICK UP THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF CAGLAYANGIL'S CALL FOR DIRECT TALKS BY STAGES. WE CAN REPORT OUR HAVING TAKEN UP THE AEGEAN AND THE NECESSITY FOR ALL SIDES TO STOP PROVOCATIONS IN THAT AREA. WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO REPORT SPECIFICS ON TERRITORIAL FLEXIBILITY BUT RATHER A DESIRE TO FACE ISSUES REALISTICALLY AND TALK. IF THE VIENNA DISCUSSIONS CAN BE KEPT GOING AND SOME PREPARATORY GREEK-TURKISH DISCUSSION BEGUN, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO GIVE THINGS ANOTHER PUSH WHEN YOU SEE THE TURKISH LEADERS IN MAY. BUT OUR ABILITY TO MAKE ANY USEFUL  
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CONTRIBUTION WILL BE VERY MUCH CIRCUMSCRIBED UNLESS WE CAN GET THE CONGRESS TO TAKE ACTION. THE TURKS MAY REPEAT MAY HOLD OFF THEIR REACTION UNTIL LATE MAY BUT THEY CANNOT BE EXPECTED HOLD MUCH LONGER THAN THAT.  
MACOMBER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY ASSISTANCE, MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 APR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <09 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <14 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MEETING WITH PRIMIN DEMIREL  
**TAGS:** PFOR, TU, CY, GR, (MACOMBER, WILLIAM B), (DEMIREL, SULEYMAN)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006